302 men, women (SM), women only (FP), for dances. Women, young girls sometimes rubbed mashed roots of Plagiobothrys nothofulvus Gray (ši'iwišt), foothill floral area, over cheeks to color face red; this done merely "to make themselves pretty" (FP). Women also sometimes painted faces with earth and kept paint on all day, staying indoors, [756] "to make face lighter" (FP). Shamans engaging in contests painted faces with alternate stripes of red and white raying out from nose across cheeks; rest of body not painted; paint not applied in [317] honor of visitors. Red earth obtained from vicinity of Koso Hot Springs, east of Little lake in Koso territory; Tübatulabal either went for it or Koso brought it to them.

304 Tattooing done on women only; women "had it done because they liked it, to make them look pretty" (FP); not done at any specific age, although small girls were not tattooed "because it hurt too much" (FP). Old woman, not necessarily relative, did the tattooing; all women formerly had one or more marks. Pattern drawn on skin with charcoal (tu·l), obtained from "any wood" (FP); pricked in with spine of Tetradymia spinosa H. & W. (pokpo·giništ); marks, black at first, later turned blue. Usually done on face between mouth and chin, on back of hand, inner surface of forearms (fig. 5).

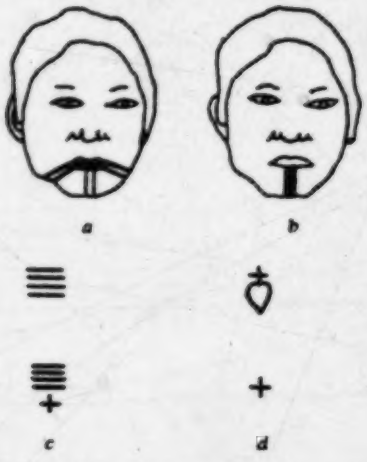

Fig. 5. Women's tattoo patterns. a, b, facial; c, 1½ in. long, inner surface of forearms (FP); d, inner surface of forearm.

Women had septum of nose pierced with pointed hot stick for nose plugs; after piercing, stick kept in hole about 7 days until wound healed. This done "any time" (SM). Lobes of female infant's ears pierced for earrings shortly after birth, "because the baby doesn't feel it much then" (SM). Some men pulled out facial hair [302] around mouth; others wore sparse mustaches (kaŋa·l), 4-5 in. long.

[p. 24(a)]

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder drained into channel leading to edge of hearth. Drill (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made from stalk of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. viminea DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener [171] (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near Chimney canyon in Tübatulabal area. Central 324 groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife. [171] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17o), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose [171] as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802, 4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable; 286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night; 372 in summer, cooking fire often built outside under shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at 373 spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by fire built in center; sweat house heated, illu- [756] minated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with simple hand drill (supra); man kneit (Kroeber, 462 Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from 177 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century Tübatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

317 and W of lake region in s. San Joaquin valley, and are of opinion material was well known in lake region at least; Tübatulabal data extends area of distribution for use of asphalt eastward.

BASKETRY, WOVEN WARE, AND CORDAGE

285 [171] Basketry.- Tübatulabal basketry "scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness" (Kroeber, Handbook, 608). Coiled and twined ware still used to some extent, but new pieces rarely made now; U.C. museum has collection of 34 Tübatulabal baskets and basketry implements. All basketry ware manufactured, used by women with exception of tule basket fish traps, made by women, used by both men and women, and basketry tray (wa·t), article of domestic use, but also employed by shamans in shooting contests. [462] [756]

Basket techniques were (a) coiling on multiple-rod foundation, (b) plain twining, (c) 2- and 3-rod diagonal twining. Stitches on some of finer coiled ware run 20-22 to inch, with 9-10 coils to inch. Sewing was from left to right as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 346, pl. 6b); this opposite to Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 16a, b). [171]

285 824 Split willow or tree yucca roots used for 1-2 rounds to start coiled basket; foundation material (wInapI·l) consisted of 2-3 whole stalks or 4-6 halved stalks of deer grass (mašil, weed), Epicampes rigens Benth., plus, for larger coiled ware, one small peeled shoot of redbud (kada·dihpul), Cercis occidentalis, willow (ša·hat), Salix laevigata Bebb, S. araquipa (Jeps.) Ball, or arroyo willow (ha·l), S. lasiolepsis Benth., S. lutea var. Watsonii (Bebb) Jepson. For finer coiled ware, such as trays, money jars, stalks of deer grass, the foundation materials were split in half; otherwise used whole. Deer grass gathered when green, laid out to dry, then tied up in bunches 2-3 in. in diameter and laid away until needed, grass being split when used.

Light-colored weft material (šI·l) for coiled baskets made from finely split willow roots (FP); also from finely split roots of tree yucca, which at certain seasons are light yellowish, at other times red (ES). Coiled baskets decorated in red, or red and black; red weft obtained from tree yucca roots, black material from roots of unidentified shrub (mo·nunt), which grows in wet places (PN, FP), or from antennae of pods of devil's horn, Martynia proboscoidea Glox.; latter plant, which is classified as weed, grown occasionally in gardens now, pods sometimes saved.

For one special type coiled basket (below), foundation consisted of strings of piñons strung on native twine; weft was of twine.

Warp (šI·l, also term for weft material), for plain twined baskets made from small whole or split peeled willow or redbud shoots; for diagonal twined ware same, but for some twined ware

T 323 [[71]] as thick as thumb laid around upturned edge of circular base and one roll after another used to build up side of pot as among Yokuts (Gayton, 1929, 242). Inside and outside of pot smoothed with fingers only (SM, FP); twig, chip, or acorn husk "might have been used a little" (FP), but small polishing stone such as Yokuts employed (ibid., 243) not used, nor were fingers dipped in syrupy substance while smoothing pot as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 267). After pot shaped and smoothed it was sun-dried and then put on "a blazing fire made from any kind of wood"; pot allowed to get "red hot" (FP); firing caused clay to turn gray-black (SM, FP). T [171] After cooling, pot ready for use; coating acorn mush (Gayton, 1929, 245) not given it. SM had seen Tübatulabal pots shaped like middle and right-hand specimen in upper row of Yokuts pots pictured in Kroeber's Handbook, 530, pl. 51, but had never seen incised lines, such as those on T 415 Yokuts specimen, on any Tübatulabal pottery.

Pots were used for boiling meat, small game, whole piñons and buckeye nuts, tobacco stalks; T [276] FP said that occasionally acorn mush cooked in them although it was usually stone boiled. Pottery pipes not made (SM), cane cigarette pipes being used for smoking; FC had seen old Koso T [532] woman make clay pipes for her own use. Little girls sometimes made crude unbaked (SM) clay [857] dolls (a·na·wišti·l) from red clay; SM thought such to have been aboriginal; children also occasionally made animal figures of clay, baked them (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Although pottery generally made by women, MM as boy had tried to make pots, but his cracked when heated, whereas "old-time pots were so hard they wouldn't break if you threw them down or hit them with a rock" T (MM).

171 Contiguous distribution of this type of pottery limited to a few Calif. and Great Basin tribes (Gayton, 1929, 248, fig. 3; Steward, 1933, 269).

T 321 Horn objects.- Mt. sheep horn used as container for pounded tobacco and lime (see section on Tobacco); spoons (ta·mil) "shaped like a kitchen spoon" were made from antelope horn, using base of horn for bowl; "men and women used spoons for eating acorn mush" (SM); PN denied use of spoons.

T 324 Steatite objects.- Stone olla, 3 ft. high, "carved out of rock," was mentioned by FM, who said his father had found it among boulders on C T hill behind Jesus ranch in South Fork valley 40 yrs. ago. FM could give no further details.

● 756 177 [321] Small steatite bowls and tubular pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces (pl. 1a) used as part of rain doctor's outfit. Outfit pictured, now in possession of SM, inherited by him from his stepfather, Francisco Sasterray, Tejon Indian (probably Chumash); this makes these objects foreign importations among Tübatulabal; however SM said

●756 177 latter possessed similar objects, used for rain making in early days, but that such "were buried with owner when he died."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Musical instruments few, simple; 3 varieties rattles used; drum (tamburin, Sp.) lacking; SM had made one at Tejon and brought it home, but "Tübatulabal didn't use them." Musical rasp also lacking.

Rattles.- Split-stick rattle (ka·ba·ba·yništ) made from peeled stalk dry elderberry (ku·hupĭl), Sambucus velutina D. & H., foothill floral area, split down center; split ends both same length; total length of specimen made by SM 18 in., length of split section 14 in., handle 4 in. Made by men; used at dances to accompany dance songs (SM).

[171] Cocoon rattle (pa·ẓo·alginišt) similar to Maidu rattle (Kroeber, Handbook, 420, fig. 37b); consisted of slender stick about 12 in. long with 4-6 cocoons (či·ko·lolondiŋ hani·n, butterfly's house) tied on upper end. Slit made in cocoon at one end, 2-3 small pieces rock put in, slit end tied with twine and cocoon attached with twine to stick. Old men used cocoon rattles to accompany songs they sang softly to themselves at night after going to bed (SM).

Dewclaw rattle (ša·lišt) consisted of 8 dewclaws (ša·lu·n) threaded through short buckskin thongs knotted at one end and tied to stick about 5 in. long. When rattle shaken, end of stick to which dewclaws attached held downward. This rattle used by rain doctor.

Whistle.- Quill whistle made "from a big feather cut like a [cane] pipe," mentioned by FP; her father had used such (see p. 73). PN agreed quill whistle used, but neither informant could remember name for this whistle or give further details; SM knew nothing about it.

Boys and girls made whistles from short hollow sections of Eriogonum nudum Dougl., foothill floral area (šiko·nišpu·l).

Flute.- Flute (lu·lu'išt) made of peeled elderberry stalk from which pith had been poked out with stick; about 26 in. long; had 6 holes, first of which was 8 in. below mouth end, other 5 spaced at 1 1/2-in. intervals beyond it toward distal end; end blown. Man played flute to himself, for own amusement during daytime; did not take it into sweat house to play; young men sometimes played it when courting (SM).

Musical bow.- Musical bow (pi·bi·wi·ništ, also name for jew's-harp) used occasionally, "not very much"; man plucked bowstring of hunting bow with index finger as he held one end of bow in mouth (SM).

[p. 35(6)]

[276] Lime.- Tobacco as prepared above used with lime (či·ut), obtained from calcareous deposits
317 in South Fork valley, from burnt fresh-water mussel shells, or by magical means. Lime from deposits dug out of ground near surface of soil in form grayish, powdery mass which was put in fire and burned; sometimes water poured over it to "make it stronger" (ES). Informants said slaking aboriginal technique. Shells of river mussels also burned and pounded to powder in pit mortars.
789 In order to obtain lime by magical means, "an old man used to go to a spring E of Fay creek and scatter eagle down on the water, saying, 'Give me your lime'; then the old man would leave the spring and go and lie down in the shade for about 2 hours. When he returned to the spring the lime would be piled up for him at the edge of the spring, ready for him to take away. An old woman who lived in the spring, šo·ubišt, gave him the lime. Anyone could get lime that way" (SM).
276 Tobacco and lime mixed by taking chunk of tobacco broken off ball, equivalent to teacupful, putting this, together with tablespoonful of lime, into small portable stone mortar kept in house for this purpose, and pounding 2 ingredients with small pestle 3-5 in. long, until they were of consistency of snuff. In aboriginal times this snuff-like admixture (šo'ogonht) kept in container made from horn of mt. sheep (SM).

Uses.- Tobacco and lime chewed, drunk, snuffed, eaten by men and women, and also used as offering. For chewing, pinch of mixture sprinkled in palm of hand and palm licked off; FP when using tobacco and lime applied tongue directly to contents of her open tobacco container, which happened to be tin snuff box. Tobacco and lime, mixed with water, also made into small pellets size of marbles; one of these held on tongue for minute or 2, then spit out into palm of hand; this done 6-7 times a day, whenever person felt like it; made person feel "dizzy" and "drunk" (MM). Tobacco without lime never used for any form of chewing; it was "no good, and made one feel sick; taken with lime it tastes peppery and strong" (SM). Many persons chew habitually; children 6 yrs. old "too young to chew tobacco" according to LT, who added, however, that her own son, barely 6, "likes to take it whenever he can get it."
757 Before retiring at night tobacco and lime,
278 mixed with water, drunk; this causes vomiting whereby stomach is rinsed out and person assured of sound, dreamless slumber. Cupful of decoction sufficient for 6 people; those who drank tobacco thus "mainly old people, although young ones sometimes drank it, too" (MM). SM in 1932 drinking tobacco every night; "he doesn't dream bad dreams then" (MM). Whether person took it alone or with group optional.
●[756] Tobacco without lime smoked by old men and by
276 male shamans while curing patients. Women and
887 female shamans or witches did not smoke. Chunk of tobacco broken off ball, finely crushed in

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tübatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Koso in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unangmented Kern, kožumye-he-hmk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kwni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

624 [838 462] Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing from father to son; women, transvestites never clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

624 Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka·wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as in·dbapapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

761 ● 756 627 [579 177] Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all deaths except those incurred during war believed to have been caused either by witchcraft or poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief might take initiative, order such persons killed. Violent deaths in brawls seldom if ever occurred in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

600 Reference has already been made in section on Recreation to social setting in which narration of myths occurred.

SHAMANISM

● 756 Shaman (a·ɣowa·l, curing shaman, witch) either man, woman; male shamans both cured and witched; women shamans always malevolent, never cured (all [838] informants). Transvestites not shamans. Two brothers, Jose and Bill Viejo Chico, both dead, last male shamans among TÜbatulabal; Jose Chico both cured, sickened persons; Bill Viejo, who had more power than Jose, mainly killed people (SM). In 1932 there were 2 women witches, whom everyone feared, living at Onyx rancheria.

Basis of shamanistic power.- Shamanistic power (po·nun) generally came unsought; "a person was born a doctor; when he was born he knew he was going to be one. He dreamt about getting the feather-tipped wand (see below); then he went far away and got it. If a man was not born a doctor, nothing could make him one. Some people were born bad doctors; they couldn't help it" (MM). "A doctor, when he was little, dreamt bad, then he became an a·ɣowa·l"(FP). Consensus of opinion was that drinking jimsonweed had nothing to do with acquiring shamanistic power; however, SM in 1932 stated that shamans drank jimsonweed after adolescence, "then they knew they were going to be doctors. The Kawaiisu doctors just dream; they don't take jimsonweed." As questing for supernatural power other than doctoring, by taking jimsonweed, well developed (see section on Rituals), perhaps drinking of jimsonweed had also become incorporated to some degree in pattern of acquiring shamanistic power, although statements of majority of informants point to conclusion that shaman's career foreordained, whereas acquirement of other types supernatural power depended on individual's initiative.

During shaman's training, animal appeared to prospective doctor in dreams and became doctor's pet (pungul). This animal fell into general class of supernatural beings referred to as yu·mu·gi·wal. Pet told prospective doctor what to do; gave latter songs in his dreams at night. Doctors dreamt for 3 nights; began dreaming when young men, women. While training they would go out in night and talk to pet; sometimes latter came to doctor "from over the ocean" (MM) after night of singing, when doctor in his teens.

[231] Doctors with power to cure had birds as pet; 756 eagle, tugayayal (species of hawk), chicken hawk, 825 etc.; no small birds. If prospective doctor saw deer in dream, obtained song from deer. Witches advised in dreams by coyote, spike buck, ghost of dead relative, rattlesnake; one of these talked to prospective witch in dreams, told him, her how to make people sick, kill them. Songs animals gave had words, were doctor's property (see section on

[p. 62(b)]

756 825 Aesthetics). Other animals as wolf, lizard, hummingbird, frog also helped witch in actual practice of craft (FP).

756 428 Although inheritance of shamanistic power in family lines denied by SM, FP pointed out that among Tübatulabal all shamans for past 4 generations had belonged to one family; Jose Chico, Bill Viejo Chico, 2 brothers, both shamans; Jose's daughter, makiawint, was witch; 2 of Bill Viejo's daughters are witches.

754 Witchcraft.- All illness, insanity, caused by evilly disposed shamans; "if there had been no a·ɨowa·l, people would have lived forever" (SM). Instances of witchcraft legion; witches killed young children with their power, "if they wanted to give the parents hard luck"; often killed close relatives, parents, siblings' children, for what reason unascertained. Bill Viejo Chico announced at fiesta he was "going to kill all the children"; other instances witches boasting of power openly, threatening victims referred to. In 1933 witch held to have caused death of Tübatulabal woman's son so that mother of dead man would have to pay witch for having her face washed before she could eat meat.

Shaman practicing malevolent powers went out to mts. and talked to his animals; animals went to prospective victim, spoke to latter in dream; next morning victim would be sick, and illness would increase daily, because witch talking to animal every night, thus causing victim to "dream bad." Examples of bad dreams were: MM dreamt he was cow, pursued by bull. He climbed tree; while in tree he changed into human form, saw bull, also as human, at foot of tree. Then both changed again into animals; bull gored cow's leg. Immediately after having had this dream MM became very ill. If he had dreamt bull killed cow, he would have died. SM dreamt rattlesnake bit him; this dream also sent by witch. Several other examples of bad dreams recorded (see Autobiography of FP; Voegelin, 1935 b, 215). In general, to dream of Coyote portended misfortune; Coyote witch's helper par excellence, often sent to make persons ill. If one dreamt Coyote bit one, sickness followed. To dream of witch injecting pain in certain part of body caused that region to become affected. To dream of witch, even though witch did not send dream, enough to cause illness.

754 775 Witches might also send ghost of dead relative, traveling in dust spout as among Miwok (Merriam, 1909, 433), to sicken person; "the whirlwind strikes one, enters one's head, and one dies" (SM); FP had this happen to her. Lights, which could be seen traveling fast at night, sometimes sent by witches to look for victim; MM, from home in foothills, some 25 yrs. ago, saw 2 lights racing over floor of valley; lights approached gate of rancheria, retreated. Capture of person's soul by witch one cause of insanity (SM). Air shot, such as used in shamans' contests, not used by witches to sicken victims.

[p. 63(a)]

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might also use poison (mušmal); one of witches at Onyx 278 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob- 177 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners 824 active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in 775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every 751 night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made 755 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother ● 756 went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't 626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated [751] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop 627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch. 622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister 754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

683 1930 plan hatched to kill woman witch; woman cho-
627 sen to accomplish killing, but sheriff interfered.
754

● 756 Curing.- Curing shaman began using his power
755 to diagnose, suck out disease when approaching middle age. Curing performance constituted all-night ceremony which began after dark; held either in doctor's house, if patient came from distance, or in patient's house if doctor had been sent for. Ceremony open to all who wished to see it; doctor began by singing; some doctors blew puffs of tobacco smoke over patient at in-
[237] tervals, or waved feather-tipped wand over patient while singing; others used plain stick, pointing it at affected spot in patient's body as they sang. In song, shaman called on deer, who came to see patient; "no one except the doctor could see that deer (tohi·l, ordinary term for deer). When the doctor saw deer starting to come he'd sing, 'He is coming, way over the mts.; he is coming close now.' Then he would go outside of the house and Deer would come up to him. Deer gave him something; then the doctor returned to the house. That deer came from Mt. Whitney. After Deer had come, the doctor sucked out the pain from the patient, in the early morning. Only good doctors knew the deer song, and it was the only one they used in curing. When a doctor had sucked the pain out of a patient, he would fall down in a heavy stupor, sweating all over; then his power would help him get the pain out of his own body, and he would show the pain to the people" (SM).

Doctors did not cut before they sucked (all informants). Sometimes doctor would put piece of jimsonweed over eyes in order to see who was causing patient's illness. When they learned who witch was, they exhorted evil animal sent by witch not to molest patient and thus "sent the animal away" (SM). Most of anecdotal material collected concerning cures had to do with activities of non-Tübatulabal shamans; one curing performance by Jose Chico described briefly in FP's autobiography; several performances by Kawaiisu shamans referred to by FP.

Disease objects either animate, inanimate; MM had had "something black, that looked like a spider, 3/4 in. long, with lot of legs that wriggled as though the thing were alive" sucked out of knee, together with blood; sometimes dry blood, small stone sucked out, or lizard-like objects.

756 Besides being able to cure, good shamans "knew
177 everything" (SM, FP); could divine guilt; locate
754 lost objects; they always knew beforehand when
787 patient was being brought to them (see Autobiography of FP). Sometimes shamans instituted new customs, as when MM's wife, an Owens Valley Paiute, told LT that Owens Valley Paiute shaman had said not to burn clothes that were dirty or worn out, in owner's lifetime, but to have them buried with owner at time of death; LT acted upon this advice and kept pitch-covered clothes she had worn while gathering piñons.

756 Fees paid to shamans for doctoring range in
754

[p. 64(a)]

T 756 756 789 821 791 C 821 789 [823 415] [276] K 821 789 791 T K 821 789 791 T C 824 821 789 791

American currency from $10-50; formerly equivalent amounts paid in clamshell currency. "If a doctor is paid too little, instead of curing a patient, he makes him sick" (FP). Relative of patient pays shaman before curing commences; fee not returned if treatment unsuccessful. Considerable borrowing often occurs between relatives if someone is taken suddenly ill and requires immediate shamanistic treatment. [426]

Weather shamans.- Although SM asserted Tübatulabal formerly had own weather shamans (paha·m), all my material relating to this type shamanistic activity concerns performances of Chumash, Kawaiisu weather shamans. SM's stepfather, Chumash from Tejon, had practiced weather shamanism until part of his outfit (tanganišt) was stolen from him; this outfit consisted in part of white quartz crystals used for making thunder showers in summer and black rocks for winter rain; these kept in striped fawnskin sack, in dry place. Besides, rain doctor used steatite pipes with bird-bone mouthpieces, small steatite bowls (pl. 1a), dew-claw rattle. To make rain, 4 old men and weather shaman sang for 3 nights; during day singers abstained from meat, eating only acorn mush and seeds. At end of 3 days rain doctor took outfit outside and delivered esoteric speech, alone. Then he brought rocks in and it rained. FM said his mother had seen snow made in summer by weather shaman. One rain doctor said to have "hollered 3 times; a cloud came up and it rained right away" (SM). Loraine (Kawaiisu) rain doctor MM knew had "little round thing" (stone?), which he sprinkled with water, sang over. If he had ever put rock in water, "he would have flooded everything" (MM). Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu rain doctor, has notable reputation among Tübatulabal; "one time when Bob Rabbit was away from home, some hungry boys broke in and stole his meat. He returned, found what had happened, and was so mad he made loud noises in the mts., and then rain, in 20 minutes, although there were no clouds in the sky when he began" (FP).

Rain doctor not paid for services; "he just made rain lots"; however, when women went to gather cane and rain doctor made shade for them, women gave him some of sugar they made from cane; same applied to women out seed gathering. Bob Rabbit, Kawaiisu mentioned above, "won't make rain now, because the white people won't pay him to do it" (FP).

An interesting extension of rain doctor's activities as SM knew them from his Chumash stepfather, briefly described. At new moon, in month "when icicles dropped from house" (January), rain doctor filled little black stone bowl with water and planted whole acorn, chia seeds, every other kind of seeds in this bowl and left it inside his house for month; "he did this to make all the seeds grow well that spring. He talked over these seeds, the same way that he talked when he went outside to make rain."

C walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far
754 as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be
789 back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat
791 down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T
754 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes
776 obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who
791 had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T
754 SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but
825 denied persons with this pet could cure snake
177 bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches";
776 one of animals witch could send out to accomplish
791 evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake step-
[171] ping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T
Y
● 756 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning cere-
789 mony, or little fiesta for face washing (below),
791 shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

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in red and white stripes (see section on Dress and Adornment). Then they came back to a level place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

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Although most of informants said this was doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only shamans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

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One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon; in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that game; the white man saw when they shot each other.

"Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that

756 tree." He held a sifter in his hands and shot the
173 tree. When he hit the tree, there was a loud
789 noise, as though a bullet had hit it. He broke
791 the limbs off the tree. And then that white man believed them.

MAGIC, PORTENTS

789 Magic.- When cloudburst threatened, MM talked to clouds quietly, telling them, "I'll blow you away; go away," at same time blowing gently. Any loud noises made at such time may cause rain. Bad dreams also blown away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227).

To throw trap-door spider (hi·lo·giš) in water likewise caused rain; as boy MM had put such spider in pond; old men fished it out, buried it in dry place; that afternoon it rained, but not heavily; if spider had been left in pond there would have been cloudburst.

Boy, young man never ate first kill of deer, rabbits, birds, etc.; boy's father put piece of meat from son's first kills on ant hill 3 times for ants to eat; this made boy good hunter.

789 Although belief that like causes like is im-
773 plicit in foregoing examples of magic, principle
539 does not seem to have been extended into realm of black magic. That it did, might be inferred from myth taken in text (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193) in which it is detailed how keeper of hoarded game, angry at Wolf's scattering his deer, sang all night and put Wolf's fur on the end of his staff, then took the fur and threw it into fire. This might well be interpreted as an instance of use of black magic against Wolf. However, in an English version of the same tale, told by same informant, MM, the episode was explained thus. "When he (keeper of game) sang, he swung that stick on top of the fire; when he stopped singing he looked at the end of his staff, but there were no hairs on the end save Wolf's hairs. And he picked up Wolf's hair and threw it into the fire; he was angry; he was looking to see if there were any deer hair on that staff, because if there had been deer hair on it, it would have meant that the deer had all returned to him. He didn't like to see Wolf's hair on it" (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin).

787 Portents.- If person sneezed suddenly, he knew someone was talking about him (SM). To hear quail calling after dark sign something bad happening, as person, animal being bitten by rattlesnake (SM). If person starting out on trip saw a coyote, he turned back, postponed trip until next day, to avoid misfortune (MM).

When trap-door spiders came out of holes, it was sign of rain (SM). To dream of killing deer meant dreamer would kill human being (MM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Man who had killed, skinned deer left spot without looking back; if he did turn around, he would see deer where he had made kill, which meant he would not live long (MM). If person

159 He gave me a big basket half full of the
● 756 drink. I drank it all; it was bitter, o-o-o-oh!
276 My father blew on a (quill) whistle, after he gave me that medicine. One old woman and 2 old men could hear him blowing, away off on the other side of the world.

After I had taken that medicine a white man came to see us. He said, "What's the matter with her?" I was outside there, walking around; I didn't eat anything. People walk around like that, heavy-footed, when they drink jimsonweed. I didn't know anything; I was "drunk." They told that white man they had given me medicine, Indian medicine.

"What are you giving her that for? You're going to kill her," the white man told my father.

"No," they said, "that's good medicine."

For about 3 days I didn't know anything; I just walked around drunk; they watched me, but I didn't know anything. I didn't see anything, except for everything running past me. Some people get power when they take jimsonweed, but I didn't. After 3 days I woke up; I was much better after that.

159 Just for fun, after we had stayed at omomÏp
241 for 2 yrs., we moved from there up to u·u·pu·lap (no. 4, fig. 11); all the people at omomÏp did. We had gardens at u·u·pu·lap; we planted onions and potatoes. We put a long rope down and then planted the onions in a long straight line.

159 I became sick at u·u·pu·lap; my arm was bent
757 and I couldn't straighten it. So I didn't eat meat for a month, then my aunt gave me red ants. She gave me half a baking-powder can full of little balls of cotton with live red ants wrapped up inside them. I hadn't eaten anything the day before my aunt gave me those ants. One time a man ate pinole, and then took ants and he died that night, because he had eaten that pinole. I took the ants in the morning and slept all day; then I woke up and everything was clear and bright. The red ants that are all around here now are the ones I took. I didn't eat any meat for a month; if I had, then when I took the ants, they would have killed me.

Those ants are good to take for a bad cold too, wrapped up in eagle down. When you take them you burn inside in your stomach, just like fire; you get hot inside; they bite you there, I guess. I slept all day the time I took ants; I was unconscious and I slept outside on the ground and rolled over and over in the dirt. My hair got all full of dirt; I didn't know anything. They gave me warm water to drink when I woke up that evening; then I vomited, but nothing came up except water. The cotton and ants had disappeared. I could straighten out my arm again.
[262] After that I just ate acorn gravy and a little bread; no meat or grease for a month.

159 One time when I was visiting my aunt up at
304 Canebrake (no. 1, fig. 11) Piñon Joe's mother (a Koso) tattooed me. I was about Esther's age (FP's *granddaughter, aged 12); we were playing*

159 My husband used to haul water and wood for me;
855 he was a good man when he wasn't drunk. My chil-
432 dren were good, too; I never whipped them. Legora learned to make baskets; she made a pretty one. My husband took it to a lady at Weldon; she paid him $5 for it.

159 One time an old woman from omomip was visiting
781 my grandmother at yitiyamup. They went out to get ku·l seeds this side (E) of the Goat ranch (no. 12, fig. 11) on the flats there. They were carrying their baskets on their backs; they had little blankets with them. When it got late they slept down by the river, under some willows. And they heard something flying above the tops of the willows, going "wo, wowo, wo, wo" all night; first the noise would seem to be above their heads, then it would grow fainter, then louder again. They left that place; they took their blankets and they went over toward the flat. They slept on the flat; it was dark. Anamgayat came out of his cave up there on the Goat ranch; they heard him say, "Aha, aha, ha, ha!" so grandmother's friend said, "You better get up; hurry up!" They were frightened. They left that place and they went up the valley to omomip, where grandmother's friend lived.

159 When Legora was little, one time my nose
756 started bleeding, one day in summer. It wouldn't stop. My father took me over to Paiute Ramon (Kawaiisu shaman) in a little buggy; I left Legora home with my sister-in-law. We traveled all night; my nose bled all the time, unceasingly. The blood filled a big bucket we carried along in the buggy. We got to Ramon's place about 3 o'clock the next afternoon. That doctor was standing on the other side of a little hill watching us; he knew we were coming. Doctors know lots. When we got to the house we heard somebody crying, making a noise, behind us. The witch (a Tübatulabal woman) who had made me sick was doing that crying. That doctor knew all that; he said she had followed me there. And he worked over me all night; we paid him $20. The next day my nosebleed stopped. Then the next day we returned home; the doctor said that witch, mapali·p, had put a cat inside my nose and that it was scratching all the time inside there; that's what made my nose bleed like that.

159 I was well for one year after that. Then a
821 big whirlwind came, oh!, a big one, carrying
754 sticks and straw in it; it came close to me; it touched me. Then right away my knee swelled up; I could hardly sleep at night. My knee looked as though it were going to burst. I dreamt bad dreams, about that woman, mapali·p (a witch). I told my husband about my dream. He got mad and
159 went over to Kernville where mapali·p was staying.
754 He said to her,
626 "I know you're witching my wife; that doctor over at Paiute told me. I want you to cure her."

Mapali·p didn't say anything for a long time. Then she said, "Well, what's the matter with her?"

"She's sick all the time. You made her nose bleed, her knee swell up; she's pretty sick.

159 You'd better see about that; if she dies, I'm go-
626 ing to kill you." He was half-drunk; that's why
754 he talked like that.

I guess mapali·p went out in the daylight after that and talked to her pet; I guess she was scared after that time when my husband talked to her, because I got better again.

159 All that time my mother and father were living
602 at Canebrake most of the time; my mother was mak-
574 ing tobacco and baskets all the time. She was making a living for herself. My mother used to visit me down at yĭtiyamup for a week or so sometimes; then she'd go back to Canebrake. My husband and I used to go up there to see my parents, too, on horseback. It took all day to ride up there. All the Indians here had horses; they used
[231] to make saddles out of tule and bridles from milkweed twine.

159 When my 2 children were about 9 and 5 yrs. old,
754 Old Bill Chico witched me; I don't know why. My
● 756 father gave him a horse and 3 sacks of flour to make him stop, but he didn't want to stop; he wanted to kill me, I guess. Then my mother took me to Jose Chico; my father was working at Weldon that time. Jose was living on Bull Run creek. He worked 2 nights on me; he danced and sang; he sucked me in lots of places, on my throat and chest. I didn't see what he sucked out. Jose didn't want to tell us who was making me sick, because it was his own brother doing that; he just told us to move from the house we were living in. "There is a devil (ghost) living there," he said. It was a tule house and we burnt it; Jose said, "If you live there again, you'll be sick again." So we burnt the house and our baskets; everything. And my father built another house, of adobe, up at yĭtiyamup, a little this side (S) of Steban's house; we lived in it after that.

159 That man from Tejon (Francesco Sasterray, a
756 Chumash) whom wišimlĭt married could make rain;
789 he used to make rain all the time when he lived over at Tejon ranch; the people paid him to. He made rain over here, too, but we never paid him for doing it. He used to make lots of rain; there was deep grass up at yĭtiyamup all the time and lots of flowers and seeds. It was pretty up at the rancheria then.

159 He had 3 different rain machines; one for snow,
756 one for rain, and one to make waterspouts. He
789 could stop the rain, too. A man living up at
674 yĭtiyamup stole the rain machine though. One day everybody was away; my sister-in-law was up at the spring washing clothes, and that man stole the rain machines. He was mean, that man; he couldn't use the rain machine, because he didn't know how to; I don't know why he stole it. Then one time after that the Tejon man got sick. He was in bed; he told wišimlĭt, "Give me that thing; I want to see it." She went and got the basket where he kept it; there was nothing there; it was all gone. The Tejon man felt bad; he cried and cried.

After that he died. The mother of those 2

[p. 76(b)]

159 After that he died. The mother of those 2
754 witches up at Onyx had put poison in his coffee.
674 He coughed, coughed, coughed all night; he got
756 thin and died after awhile. A long time after
that wišimlit's daughter-in-law, Tumasa, got sick; someone went and got Paiute Ramon. Ramon's friend came over here with him that time; he was a doctor, too. They were both Kawaiisu. Ramon worked on Tumasa and she got better. They told him about the rain machine. Doctors can tell where everything is; they see everything. Ramon told SM who had stolen his stepfather's machine. The thief had been watching Ramon doctor; Ramon pointed to him and said, "There he is; he's the one who stole your rain machine." The other doctor said, "He's right; he knows." Those doctors know everything; who is making you sick, or if you are a doctor, too, or if you have poison; everything.

159 Ramon started to lead that man over to the
756 place where the thief had hidden the rain outfit.
674 "Come on, show us where it is," the doctor told him. The man didn't want to go very much; he just stopped every little while. My husband was there. He got mad seeing that man take one or 2
[578] steps and then stop, and he hit him over the head with a shovel. The man didn't say anything; he just walked away; he wouldn't go with that doctor at all then.

425 A long time afterward another man found that
159 outfit; he said he would give it to Steban if he
756 would pay him $10 for it. But Steban wouldn't.
789 He should have though, then he could make rain now. The man who found it buried it somewhere else, in a dry place; it's there now. Bob Rabbit (a Kawaiisu) can make rain, too, but he says he doesn't want to make it any more. The people won't pay him anything for doing it. He says, "Let the country go dry."

159 But when they had those rain machines there
789 were lots of plants here then. And my husband
252 killed deer all the time; we always had deermeat. He was a good shot; he had a good rifle. The Indians used to use everything in a deer; they'd put the heart, liver, blood, all the guts inside the stomach lining and tie it up good and boil that up; it was fine. We never did that; just the oldtime Indians, but my mother's brother (a Koso) used to.

159 When my husband or my mother's brother hunted
782 deer they always gave the mts. beads and tobacco
224 and eagle down; they did that first, then they could kill all the deer they wanted. They gave the mts. little pieces of tobacco broken off the ball.

159 When Legora was about 11 yrs. old, one time
787 my father went over to Jose Chico's. He and
578 Jose got drunk; Jose talked badly to my father. "You're going on a good road (going to die)," Jose told my father. He was drunk when he said it.

159 My father came home. About a month later he
249 started working in the tobacco patch with my mother; they came down from Canebrake to work in

159 to see us from Riverside. She didn't want us to
756 tell anyone at the Onyx rancheria that she was up here visiting. "Those witches might make me sick again," she said. She's still frightened
159 because those witches made her sick that time.
754 They're mean, those women. They killed Barney's wife because she ate meat right after her husband died, without having her face washed. They got mad at Legora because she and John Tungate went down to Bakersfield and testified about a horse one of the witches wanted to get after a son died. I guess maybe that's why they made Irene sick that time.

159 When Johnnie was a little baby, just crawling around, John Tungate got work in Inyo county.
484 We all went up there; we stayed at Bishop and
591 then at Lone Pine. I like to camp around; so does Legora. But after awhile I like to return home again. We stayed at Lone Pine for a yr.; I didn't like it up there. The Indians there (Owens Valley Paiute) said, "Why don't you take up land here, and stay here?" But I wanted to get home; we all did, the children, too. They liked Canebrake; they always liked to live up there. So we returned to Canebrake. Then John Tungate left;
[245] he and Legora separated. After he left we used to go over to Visalia in the summertime to pick fruit; Legora and I both worked and Esther and Annie took care of the house and of Johnnie. We used to camp at Tule River reservation on the way home; there was a man there who loaned us a house. He told us, "Don't go visiting around here, because all these people are bad; they all have poison they use." They are queer people over there at Tule; they don't visit each other any over there, because they are afraid they will be poisoned.

159 We made 3 trips to Visalia to work in the
[245] fruit. The second time we went with Steban and his daughter. Then we heard, "There's no money
484 over there at all; they're not picking the fruit, they're letting it go." That's why we stopped go-

159 married to John Tungate (a white man). We had a
591 tent up there; Mike Miranda made us a tent to
602 live in all winter. There was no road to Canebrake then, when we first moved up there. The children grew old enough to go to school, so every winter we would move down to Sweet's ranch; [487] Legora's children used to go to school from there in a buggy. In summer we'd move back to Canebrake [221] again. Finally they built a road and the bus came up there for the children; then we stayed there all the time and didn't move back and forth.

159 When we were down at Sweet's one winter an old man rode down from Canebrake and told us my uncle had been burnt up in his house up there. My uncle had a little tule house and he used to build a big fire all the time in the middle of the house, on the ground. There were big dry logs all around outside the house. We went up there; everybody went up to see the corpse. There was just a little bit of it left; the house was all burnt up.

[428] I got my uncle's land after he died; I already owned some my mother and father had.

159 Two yrs. after Irene was born, Legora had Annie; then 2 yrs. after that, Esther; then Johnnie 2 yrs. after Esther. Legora's husband, John Tungate, kept living with us at Canebrake. One time when Irene was about 11 or 12 yrs. old, we were sitting outside the house one evening in summer, around sundown. Mike was up there that time, too. Fred (a grandson) was playing his guitar. We saw a hummingbird coming straight toward Irene; he was hitting that little girl. None of us could catch him. The next day Irene felt sick; that night she had convulsions and foam was coming out of her mouth. She didn't talk, she didn't eat anything. That night, about midnight, we asked Mike, "Have you money?" "Yes, I have $10," he said. "All right," we said. He gave us that money and we harnessed a horse up to the buggy. We were going to take Irene to a (Kawaiisu) doctor at Kelso valley.

Passing by Onyx we heard a chicken crow; it was about 3 a.m. We got to Kelso valley at 2 o'clock that afternoon. Irene's face was swollen; she wouldn't eat or drink anything.

● 756 159 We arrived at the doctor's house about 8 o'clock. He worked with Irene all night; he sang; he danced, hopping all around inside his house; near daylight he went outside and looked toward the E. He sang, "All my animals are coming here now." Then elk came to that doctor. We couldn't see that elk, but the doctor could. Elk told the doctor, "I'm looking all over; I see 2 witches, those 2 women at the Onyx rancheria. Those are the only 2 witches there are in this country; there are no others," Elk told that doctor.

After awhile, after the doctor had sucked Irene, that devil inside her went out. The doctor asked Legora if she had heard the devil leaving Irene's body. "No," Legora said. But the doctor had heard it, when it went out; he sucked it out. That morning Irene was glad, happy; she was all right again. Two months ago she came up here

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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Plate 1. a, Steban Miranda with steatite bowls and pipes used in rain making. b, Frances Philips. c, Estefana Miranda Salazar. d, Mike Miranda.

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Plate 2. a, central section of South Fork valley, looking S to Nichols peak and Paiute mts. from Steban Miranda's rancheria, village site no. 9. In foreground sagebrush, Digger pines, scrub oak; in valley beyond, willows and cottonwoods. b, village site no. 9, Steban Miranda's rancheria, looking E. In foreground cottonwoods around springs; on mts. in background Digger pines. c, e. end of South Fork valley, 6 mi. above Onyx, looking NE. In foreground sagebrush, in middle backgroumd tree yuccas, on mt. slopes Digger pines.

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Plate 3. a, field of wild tobacco, 1/2 mi. E of Weldon, central South Fork valley. b, tobacco plants in field shown above, after third pruning, showing enlarged leaves. Dimensions of envelope at base of plants 3 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. c, samples of tobacco plants taken from patch shown above after final gathering of crop. From left to right, 1, 2, 3, plucked stalks, 1, 16 in. high, 2, 3, 24 in. high; 4, 5, unplucked plants overlooked in final gathering, height 38 in., leaves 6-8 in. long, 2 1/2-3 in. wide; 6, large untended

[p. 84(a)]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

17. Then I, already wanting to go, woke up with a start. 18. Then I got up at four o'clock. 19. Then I went out far away; when I arrived, I prayed (and) I blew (to get rid of the impurity of the dream). 20. I dreamed a bad one. 21. I blew (the bad dream away). 22. "Nothing, nothing (bad remains)," I say, "everything (is) good; to us nothing (bad) will happen." 23. It is the end. 539x

18. BULL DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along the valley. 2. Then I see cattle. 3. I go and hold my own gun. 4. Then I see the bull. 5. There is not a bull (but) a shaman (assuming the form of a bull); (this) one is wanting to come back to me. 6. Then from there I go down toward the canyon, I am going to the canyon. 7. Then I see the bull in front (of me). 8. Then, when he sees me, he runs away from me because I am holding my own gun. 9. Then I woke up. [177] [411] [756]

19. DEER DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along. 2. I cross the deep canyon. 3. On the other side in the mountains, I ascend the mountains. 4. Then, when I wanted to go out, I tracked the deer in his tracks. 5. Then I went and found many deer. 6. Then they jump about in every direction. 7. Then a big one stands still. 8. Then I shot him; he came and fell down dead. 9. Then I went and saw him; I shot him in his heart. 10. Then I woke up with a start.
11. It is bad to be dreaming of deer; you kill human beings (as a result), so they say. [787]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
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223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave.

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying.

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
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back. 297. With my own wife I went there. 298. I am like that when coming back. 299. Then I arrived at my own house. 300. Then I told my own father: 301. "That shaman is speaking to me, 'The one who is doing it to you is living,' he is saying to me." 302. Then, "I will give you jimsonweed to drink," my father is saying. 303. Then he gave me a drink. 304. Then I saw that bad shaman. 305. I saw something, everything, watersnakes, lizards. 306. (They) come out from above and go and fall on the ground, and also one (falls) on the side again. 307. Then I am speaking to my own wife, "See the lizard," I am saying. 308. Then that next day I became sober. 309. I am wandering about well.

310. Then that bad shaman spoke to one man, saying, it is said, "I will kill him," he is saying, it is said, "anywhere when I see him." 311. Then that man told me: 312. "That shaman is speaking," he is saying, "he will kill you," my friend is saying to me. 313. "Good," I am saying when my friend is speaking. 314. Then I wandered off for my gun.

315. Then one man got sick. 316. Then that shaman is called, and also the bad shaman is called there too. 317. Then we, all people, went, going to hear that shaman. 318. Then right away he sang in the nighttime. 319. Then also he is biting tobacco when dancing. 320. He is dancing in the nighttime. 321. "That shaman is doing this to you," he is saying. 322. Then that one (the bad shaman) became angry when he (the good shaman) is speaking. 323. "Not I," he is saying, "but it is a man; he is sitting down," he is saying to me, "and I will skin him," he is saying, "before daylight," he is saying. 324. Then many people are hearing him when he is speaking. 325. Then that shaman quit his singing. 326. Then he went to his own house. 327. Then from there all the people took leave. 328. And also that bad shaman came toward the path. 329. Then, "Let's go to the store," I am saying, "let's go in order to get a drink" (I say to my friend). 330. "Good," (my friend) is saying. 331. Then we went toward the path; we arrived there on the bridge; there three men are standing; they are drinking. 332. We stood there. 333. "Drink ye." 334. Then we drank one drink. 335. Then that shaman came and arrived. 336. "Who are you?" he is saying. 337. Then from there he asked again. 338. Then one man spoke. "That is Yukaya," he is saying. 339. "Good," (the shaman) is saying, "I want that one," he is saying. 340. Then right away he took out his own gun. 341. Right away he put his own gun for me on my heart. 342. Then his gun did not go off. 343. Then right away I pulled out my own gun, and right away I put it for him on his rib; right away my gun went off. 344. Then, when it turned him upside down (caused him to fall face downward), he went; he went and fell. 345. Then there his partner jumped from there to here; he took out his own gun. 346. Then my friend grabbed him. 347. He took for me his gun from there to here. 348. Then one man ran to his own house; he went to get his gun. 349. Then from there I went back again toward my own house, in the company of my own friend. 350. Then that man came and arrived there. 351. He is coming holding his own gun in his own hand. 352. "Where (is) that man? (He is) a desperado," he is saying; "let him come out," he is saying. 353. Then that man, the house-owner, "Do not go out," he is saying to me.

354. Then from there I came toward my own house. 355. Then that next day both the sheriffs came and arrived. 356. Then my relatives are speaking, "The sheriffs come already," (my relatives) are saying, "hurry up, get up," (they) are saying. 357. Then from there I got up. 358. I went outside. 359. Then the sheriff came and stood there; he took out his own gun. 360. Then I am speaking, "Why are you taking out your own gun?" I am saying. 361. "I am coming to get you," he is saying, "and where is your gun?" he is saying. 362. "Here inside," I am saying. 363. Then we entered. 364. Then I took out my own gun from under my own pillow. 365. Then I gave that one my own gun. 366. Then that one put his own gun for me on the heart. 367. He is trembling. 368. "Why are you trembling?" I am saying. (Yukaya surrendered his gun with the muzzle instead of the butt forward; this frightened the sheriff.)

369. Then from there we came backward; we went and arrived there in the store. 370. We talked there. 371. "Why did you kill that man?" 372. "He took out his gun first," I am saying, "and I shot last." 373. "And why are you carrying your own gun?" 374. "That

[P. 49a] Paleuyam. Tubatulabal US22

Y 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y [752] Rattlesnake (te´·ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y [145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y 756 787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

[828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

●T Y

●756 754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y 789 791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´´no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo´no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 396.

father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena'wu in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, 'n'wao, was east of Čena'wu. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi'yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu'muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana's'ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya'wel ti''i; that covered with tule, pumuk ti''i.[128]

The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

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T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

T Y 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

T Y [P. 53 b] Tubatulabal NS22

796 276 saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

T Y 752 276 Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

T Y 756 F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nak ma ana´tɔlhɔn).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´ɔ:t) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

T Y [551] The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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mentioned.[135] The "bullets" may be placed anywhere, as on a tree, and "they go off by themselves," or they are put in the mouth and spat out.

When the Shamans' Contest was made at Tule there was a "center position." In the last one held there the female shaman, Poi'ɨn, held this, and was blinded as a result during the contest.

Poi'ɨn's father, who was a Bankalachi, was not known as a professional shaman: "he might have had some power." She was the only woman doctor known to F.M. and S.G., save one now living on the south fork of Kern River; she was known to the Chunut, J.A., as Sukotɨts. She "thought about power [tɨpni] day and night until she dreamt." She married Čeče'ɨs, who was Wati'sti's father; but F.M. knows nothing about him. Her supernatural helper was not known to F.M.; she did not "handle" snakes. She taught Watisti all she knew; when he became a professional doctor she accompanied him, danced and sang, and received part of his payment. She was known as a "good doctor," was never suspected of killing anyone. Her son, however, achieved a bad reputation and, after her death, was finally killed in vengeance for the death of Wu'ni, a Yaudanchi chief.[136]

She once visited Wukchumni at Lemon Cove, where she cured S.G.

He was "poorly"; he had no specific pains, but his nose bled constantly and he had to stay in bed. Poi'ɨn was visiting there; she came to cure him. She did not cut, merely rubbed. She "called on all the big hills asking for their help." She had a "chicken" hawk's head and eagle-down string as talismans. These she dipped in a basket of water on which eagle down had been sprinkled. Then she rubbed them

[135] This may be a reason for the reluctance about name-mention encountered here, but not elsewhere among Yokuts informants.

[136] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

[P. 54b] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

T Y 796 668 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Ino'lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men, two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

T Y [302]

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.